ſo no ſpecial proviſion was made for a general aſſembly in May 1692, but writs iſſued immediately upon the governor's arrival, and the court met the 8th of June and an act paſſed, declaring that all the laws of the colony of Maſſachuſets bay and the colony of New-Plimouth, not being repugnant to the laws of England nor inconſiſtent with the charter, ſhould be in force, in the reſpective colonies, to the 10th of November 1692, except where other proviſion ſhould be made by act of aſſembly, and all juſtices of the peace (aſſiſtants, like aldermen of London, were, ex officio, juſtices under the old charter) had the ſame powers given to them, in the execution of laws, which magiſtrates uſed to have. The confuſion, the country was in, from the ſuppoſed witchcrafts, ſeems to have occaſioned an adjournment of the general court on the 2d of July, to the ſecond Wedneſday in October; very little public buſineſs having been done during the ſeſſion. 1692.

THE great noiſe which the New England witchcrafts made throughout the Engliſh dominions, proceeded more from the general panick with which all ſorts of perſons were

ment of affairs from 1689 to 1692. Serjeant and Lynd were alſo of Boſton. Hayman, of the province of Main. Maſon was a merchant in London, a zealous man in the cauſe of New England, and I ſuppoſe his name was inſerted in the charter from mere reſpect and gratitude, for he never came to New-England. Hinkley had been many years governor of New Plimouth. Bradford was ſon to Governor Bradford; and Walley and Lothrop were of good families in that colony. Alcot and Daniel, or, Donnell, were of the province of Main. Davis, of the country farther eaſt or Sagadehoc; he had been commander of the fort at Caſco, where he was taken priſoner and carried to Canada. However dry this account may appear to ſome readers, it may not be diſagreeable to others, and perhaps may excite a laudable ambition in ſome of the deſcendants of the firſt magiſtrates to merit the honours of their anceſtors, for altho' places and titles in the colonies are not hereditary, yet *cæteris paribus*, the deſcendants of ſuch as have done worthily have ſome claim to be diſtinguiſhed, "*nam ſi quis ab ineunte ætate* "*habet cauſam celebritatis et nominis, aut à patre acceptam* "——*in hunc oculi omnium conjiciuntur.*" *Cic. de Officiis.*

1692. were ſeized, and an expectation that the contagion would ſpread to all parts of the country, than from the number of perſons who were executed, more having been put to death in a ſingle county in England, in a ſhort ſpace of time, than have ſuffered in all New England from the firſt ſettlement until the preſent time. Fifteen years had paſſed, before we find any mention of witchcraft among the Engliſh coloniſts. The Indians were ſuppoſed to be worſhippers of the Devil, and their powows to be wizards. The firſt ſuſpicion of witchcraft, among the Engliſh, was about the year 1645; at Springfield, upon Connecticut river, ſeveral perſons were ſuppoſed to be under an evil hand, and among the reſt two of the miniſter's children.† Great pains were taken to prove the facts upon ſeveral perſons charged with the crime, but either the nature of the evidence was not ſatisfactory, or the fraud was ſuſpected, and ſo no perſon was convicted until the year 1650, when a poor wretch, Mary Oliver, probably weary of her life from the general reputation of being a witch, after long examination was brought to confeſſion of her guilt, but I do not find that ſhe was executed. Whilſt this enquiry was making, Margaret Jones was executed at Charleſtown;* and Mr. Hale mentions a woman at Dorcheſter, and another at Cambridge about the ſame time, who all at their death aſſerted their innocence. Soon after, Hugh Parſons was tried at Springfield and eſcaped death.‡ In 1655, Mrs. Hibbins, the aſſiſtants widow, was hanged at Boſton.§ In 1662, at Hartford in Connecticut (about 30 miles from Springfield, upon the ſame river) one Ann Cole, a young woman who lived next door to a Dutch family, and, no doubt, had learned ſomething of the language, was ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed with dœmons, who ſometimes ſpake dutch and ſometimes engliſh, and ſometimes a language which no body underſtood, and who held a conference with one another. Several miniſters, who were preſent, took down the conference in writing, and the names

† Johnſon. * Vol. I. p. 150. ‡ Id. p. 179. § Id. p. 187.

names of ſeveral perſons, mentioned in the courſe of the conference, as actors or bearing parts in it; particularly a woman, then in priſon upon ſuſpicion of witchcraft, one Greenſmith, who upon examination confeſſed and appeared to be ſurprized at the diſcovery. She owned that ſhe and the others named had been familiar with a dæmon, who had carnal knowledge of her,* and although ſhe had not made a formal covenant, yet ſhe had promiſed to be ready at his call, and was to have had a high frolick at Chriſtmas, when the agreement was to have been ſigned. Upon this confeſſion ſhe was executed, and two more of the company were condemned at the ſame time.† In 1669, Suſanna Martin, of Saliſbury, was bound over to the court, upon ſuſpicion of witchcraft, but eſcaped at that time.‡ 1692.

In 1671, Elizabeth Knap, another *ventriloqua*, alarmed the people of Groton in much the ſame manner as Ann Cole had done thoſe of Hartford; but her dæmon was not ſo cunning, for inſtead of confining himſelf to old women, he rail'd at the good miniſter of the town and other perſons of good character, and the people could not then be prevailed on to believe him, but believed the girl, when ſhe confeſſed ſhe had been deluded, and that the devil had tormented her in the ſhape of good perſons; and ſo ſhe eſcaped the puniſhment due to her fraud and impoſture.

In 1673, Eunice Cole of Hampton was tried, and the jury found her not, legally, guilty, but that there were ſtrong grounds to ſuſpect her of familiarity with the devil.

* The Egyptians ſuppoſe a divine ſpirit may poſſibly approach a woman and produce in her the principles of generation; but on the other ſide, that it is impoſſible for a man to have any ſuch intercourſe with a goddeſs. It is however altogether irrational, to believe that any god or dæmon is capable of a ſenſual love for human bodily form or beauty. *Plutarch's life of Numa.*

† Jan. 20. 1662, three witches were condemned at Hartford. Feb. 24. After one of the witches was hanged, the maid was well. *Goffe the regicide's diary.*

‡ She ſuffered death in 1692.

1692. IN 1679, William Morſe's houſe, at Newbury, was troubled with the throwing of bricks, ſtones, &c. and a boy, of the family, was ſuppoſed to be bewitched, who accuſed one of the neighbours; and in 1682, the houſe of George Walton, a quaker, at Portſmouth, and another houſe at Salmon-falls (both in New-Hampſhire) were attacked after the ſame manner.

IN 1683, the dæmons removed to Connecticut river again, where one Deſborough's houſe was moleſted by an inviſible hand, and a fire kindled, no body knew how, which burnt up great part of his eſtate; and in 1684, Philip Smith, a judge of the court, a military officer and a repreſentative of the town of Hadley, upon the ſame river, (an hypocondriack perſon) fancied himſelf under an evil hand, and ſuſpected a woman, one of his neighbours, and languiſhed and pined away, and was generally ſuppoſed to be bewitched to death. While he lay ill, a number of briſk lads tried an experiment upon the old woman. Having dragged her out of her houſe, they hung her up until ſhe was near dead, let her down, rowled her ſome time in the ſnow, and at laſt buried her in it and there left her, but it happened that ſhe ſurvived and the melancholly man died.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe frequent inſtances of ſuppoſed witchcrafts, none had ſuffered for near thirty years, in the Maſſachuſets colony. The execution of the aſſiſtant or councellor's widow in 1655, was diſapproved of by many principal perſons, and it is not unlikely that her death ſaved the lives of many other inferior perſons. But in 1685, a very circumſtancial account of all or moſt of the caſes I have mentioned, was publiſhed, and many arguments were brought to convince the country that they were no deluſions nor impoſtures, but the effects of a familiarity between the devil and ſuch as he found fit for his inſtruments; and in 1687 or 1688, began a more alarming inſtance than any which had preceded it. Four of the children of John Goodwin, a grave man and a good liver at the north part of Boſton

Boſton were generally believed to be bewitched. I have often heard perſons, who were of the neighbourhood, ſpeak of the great conſternation it occaſioned. The children were all remarkable for ingenuity of temper, had been religiouſly educated and were thought to be without guile. The eldeſt was a girl of thirteen or fourteen years. She had charged a laundreſs with taking away ſome of the family linnen. The mother of the laundreſs was one of the wild Iriſh, of bad character, and gave the girl harſh language; ſoon after which ſhe fell into fits, which were ſaid to have ſomething diabolical in them. One of her ſiſters and two brothers followed her example and, it is ſaid, were tormented in the ſame part of their bodies at the ſame time, although kept in ſeparate apartments, and ignorant of one another's complaints. One or two things were ſaid to be very remarkable; all their complaints were in the day time, and they ſlept comfortably all night; they were ſtruck dead at the ſight of the aſſembly's catechiſm, Cotton's milk for babes, and ſome other good books, but could read in Oxford jeſts, popiſh and quaker books, and the common prayer, without any difficulty. Is it poſſible the mind of man ſhould be capable of ſuch ſtrong prejudices as that a ſuſpicion of fraud ſhould not immediately ariſe? But attachments to modes and forms in religion had ſuch force that ſome of theſe circumſtances ſeem rather to have confirmed the credit of the children. Sometimes they would be deaf, then dumb, then blind; and ſometimes all theſe diſorders together would come upon them. Their tongues would be drawn down their throats, then pulled out upon their chins. Their jaws, necks, ſhoulders, elbows and all their joints would appear to be diſlocated, and they would make moſt piteous outcries of burnings, of being cut with knives, beat, &c. and the marks of wounds were afterwards to be ſeen. The miniſters of Boſton and Charleſtown kept a day of faſting and prayer at the troubled houſe; after which, the youngeſt child made no more complaints. The others perſevered, and 1692.

1692. the magiſtrates then interpoſed, and the old woman was apprehended, but upon examination would neither confeſs nor deny, and appeared to be diſordered in her ſenſes. Upon the report of phyſicians that ſhe was *compos mentis*, ſhe was executed, declaring at her death the children ſhould not be relieved. The eldeſt, after this, was taken into a miniſter's family, where, at firſt, ſhe behaved orderly, but, after ſome time, ſuddenly fell into her fits. The account of her affliction is in print; ſome things are mentioned as extraordinary, which tumblers are every day taught to perform; others ſeem more than natural, but it was a time of great credulity. The children returned to their ordinary behaviour, lived to adult age, made profeſſion of religion, and the affliction they had been under they publickly declared to be one motive to it. One of them I knew many years after. She had the character of a very ſober virtuous woman, and never made any acknowledgment of fraud in this tranſaction. The printed account was publiſhed with a preface by Mr. Baxter, who ſays, '*the evidence is ſo convincing, that he muſt be a very obdurate ſadducee who will not believe.*'* It obtained credit ſufficient, together

* In the year 1720, at Littleton in the county of Middleſex, a family was ſuppoſed to be bewitched. One J. B. had three daughters, of 11, 9, and 5 years of age. The eldeſt was a forward girl, and having read and heard many ſtrange ſtories, would ſurprize the company where ſhe happened to be, with her manner of relating them. Pleaſed with the applauſe, ſhe went from ſtories ſhe had heard, to ſome of her own framing, and ſo on to dreams and viſions, and attained the art of ſwooning and of being to all appearance for ſometime breathleſs. Upon her revival, ſhe would tell of ſtrange things ſhe had met with in this and other worlds. When ſhe met with the words, *God, Chriſt, the Holy Ghoſt*, in the bible, ſhe would drop down with ſcarce any ſigns of life in her. Strange noiſes were often heard in and upon the houſe; ſtones came down the chimney and did great miſchief. She complained of the ſpectre of Mrs. D——y, a woman living in the town; and, once, the mother of the girl ſtruck at the place where the ſaid D——y was, and the girl ſaid, *you have ſtruck her on the belly*, and upon enquiry it

together with other preparatives, to diſpoſe the whole country to be eaſily impoſed upon by the more extenſive and more tragical ſcene, which was preſently after acted at Salem and other parts of the county of Eſſex. Not many years before, Glanvil publiſhed his witch ſtories in England; Perkins and other nonconformiſts were earlier; 1692.

it was found, that D——y complained of a hurt in her belly about that time. Another time, the mother ſtruck at a place, where the girl ſaid there was a yellow bird, and ſhe told her mother ſhe had hit the ſide of it's head; and it again appeared that D——y's head was hurt about the ſame time. It was common to find her in ponds of water, crying out ſhe ſhould be drowned; ſometimes upon the top of the houſe, and ſometimes upon the tops of trees, where ſhe pretended ſhe had flown; and ſome fancied they had ſeen her in the air. There were often the marks of blows and pinches upon her, which were ſuppoſed to come from an inviſible hand.

The ſecond daughter, after her ſiſter had ſucceeded ſo well, imitated her in complaints of D——y, and out did her in feats of running upon the barn, climbing trees, &c. and, what was moſt ſurprizing, the youngeſt attempted the ſame feats, and in ſome inſtances went beyond her ſiſters. The neighbours agreed they were under an evil hand, and it was pronounced a piece of witchcraft, as certain as that there ever had been any at Salem; and no great pains were taken to detect the impoſture. Phyſicians had been at firſt employed, but to no purpoſe; and afterwards miniſters were called to pray over them, but without ſucceſs. At length D——y, not long after the ſuppoſed blows, took to her bed, and after ſometime died, and the two eldeſt girls ceaſed complaining; the youngeſt held out longer, but all perſiſted in it, that there had been no fraud. The eldeſt, not having been baptized, and being come to adult age, deſired and obtained baptiſm, and the miniſter then examined her upon her conduct in the affair, and ſhe perſiſted in her declarations of innocency. In 1728, having removed to Medford, ſhe offered to join the church there, and gave a ſatisfactory account of herſelf to the miniſter of the town; but he knew nothing of the ſhare ſhe had in this tranſaction. The Lord's day before ſhe was to be admitted, he happened to preach from this text, "*He that ſpeaketh lies ſhall not eſcape.*" The woman ſuppoſed the ſermon to be intended for her, and went to the miniſter, who told her no body had made any objection againſt her; but being determined to confeſs her guilt, ſhe diſcloſed the fraud of herſelf and her ſiſters, and deſired to make

1692. but the great authority was that of Sir Matthew Hale, revered in New-England, not only for his knowledge in the law, but for his gravity and piety. The trial of the witches in Suffolk was publiſhed in 1684. All theſe books were in New-England, and the conformity between the behavior of Goodwin's children and moſt of the ſuppoſed bewitched at Salem, and the behavior of thoſe in England, is ſo exact, as to leave no room to doubt the ſtories had been read by the New-England perſons themſelves, or had been told to them by others who had read them. Indeed, this conformity, inſtead of giving ſuſpicion, was urged in confirmation of the truth of both; the old England dæmons and the new being ſo much alike. The court juſtified themſelves from books of law, and the authorities of Keble, Dalton and other lawyers, then of the firſt character, who lay down rules of conviction, as abſurd and dangerous as any which were practiſed in New-England. The trial of Richard Hatheway, the impoſtor, before Lord Chief Juſtice Holt, was ten or twelve years after. This was a great diſcouragement to proſecutions in England for witchcraft, but an effectual ſtop was not put to them until the act of parliament in the reign of his late Majeſty.† Even this

make a publick acknowledgment, in the face of the church; and accordingly did ſo. The two ſiſters, ſeeing her pitied, had become actors alſo with her, without being moved to it by her, but when ſhe ſaw them follow her, they all joined in the ſecret and acted in concert. They had no particular ſpite againſt D——y; but it was neceſſary to accuſe ſomebody, and the eldeſt having pitched upon her, the reſt followed. The woman's complaints, about the ſame time the girl pretended ſhe was ſtruck, proceeded from other cauſes, which were not then properly enquired into. Once, at leaſt, they were in great danger of being detected in their tricks; but the grounds of ſuſpicion were overlooked, through the indulgence and credulity of their parents. *M. S. of the Rev. Mr. Turell, miniſter of Medford.*

† I remember to have heard a gentleman, who in other reſpects was very ſenſible, expreſs his ſurprize upon the firſt news of this act. The parliament, he ſaid, had in effect declared that there were no evil ſpirits, he was afraid they would declare by another act that there are no good ones. From

this has not wholly cured the common people, and we hear of old women ducked and cruelly murdered within theſe laſt twenty years. Reproach, then, for hanging witches, although it has been often caſt upon the people of New-England, by thoſe of Old, yet it muſt have been done with an ill grace. The people of New-England were of a grave caſt, and had long been diſpoſed to give a ſerious ſolemn conſtruction even to common events in providence; but in Old England, the reign of Charles the ſecond was as remarkable for gaiety as any whatſoever, and for ſcepticiſm and infidelity, as any which preceded it. 1692.

Sir William Phips, the governor, upon his arrival, fell in with the opinion prevailing. Mr. Stoughton, the lieutenant-governor, upon whoſe judgment great ſtreſs was laid, had taken up this notion, that although the devil might appear in the ſhape of a guilty perſon, yet he would never be permitted to aſſume the ſhape of an innocent perſon. ‡ This opinion, at firſt, was generally

 received.

From 1694 to 1701, there were 11 perſons tried for witches before Lord chief juſtice Holt, all of whom were acquitted. In Scotland ſeven were executed for witches in 1697, upon the teſtimony of one girl about 11 years old.

‡ 'A gentleman of more than ordinary underſtanding, learning and experience, deſired me to write to N. England about your trials and convictions of witches, not being ſatisfied with the evidence upon which ſome who have been executed were found guilty; he told me that in the time of the great reformation parliament, a certain perſon or perſons had a commiſſion to diſcover and proſecute witches. Upon theſe proſecutions many were executed, in at leaſt one county in England, until, at length, a gentleman of eſtate and of great character for piety was accuſed, which put an end to the commiſſion, and the judges, upon a re-hearing, reverſed many of the judgments; but many lives had been taken away. All that I ſpeak with, much wonder that any man, much leſs a man of ſuch abilities, learning and experience as Mr. Stoughton, ſhould take up a perſuaſion, that the devil cannot aſſume the likeneſs of an innocent, to afflict another perſon. In my opinion, it is a perſuaſion utterly deſtitute of any ſolid reaſon to render it ſo much as

1692. received. Some of the moſt religious women who were accuſed, when they ſaw the appearance of diſtreſs and torture in their accuſers, and heard their ſolemn declarations, that they ſaw the ſhapes or ſpectres of the accuſed afflicting them, perſuaded themſelves they were witches, and that the devil, ſome how or other, although they could not remember how or when, had taken poſſeſſion of their evil hearts and obtained ſome ſort of aſſent to his afflicting in their ſhapes; and thereupon they thought they might be juſtified in confeſſing themſelves guilty.

IT ſeems, at this day, with ſome people, perhaps but few, to be the queſtion whether the accuſed or the afflicted were under a preternatural or diabolical poſſeſſion, rather than whether the afflicted were under bodily diſtempers, or altogether guilty of fraud and impoſture. As many of the original examinations have fallen into my hands, it may be of ſervice to repreſent this affair in a more full and impartial light than it has yet appeared to the world.

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as probable, and beſides, contradictory to many inſtances of facts in hiſtory. If you think good, you may acquaint Mr. Stoughton and the other judges with what I write.' *Letter from London to Inc. Mather, Jan.* 9. 1692-3.

I ſuppoſe the long parliament muſt be intended by the great reformation parliament, for in 1644, 1645 and 1646, one Matthew Hopkins went from place to place to find out witches. Mr. Baxter ſays a great number were hanged by his diſcovery, and that Mr. Calamy went along with the judges to hear the confeſſions, and to ſee that there was no fraud or wrong done. Hopkins ſearched for teats, ſet ſome upon ſtools or tables croſs-legged, and kept them 24 hours without meat or drink, within which time it was ſaid their imps would come and ſuck; others he tried by ſwimming them, and at length raiſed the indignation of certain gentlemen, who cauſed him to be ſeized, and his hands and feet being tied, to be thrown into the water, where fortunately for him he was proved to be a witch or wizard himſelf, by his ſwimming or floating upon the water. The country was cleared of him, and ſome lamented that the experiment had not been made ſooner.

In February 1691-2, a daughter and a neice of Mr. Parris, the miniſter of Salem* village, girls of ten or eleven years of age, and two other girls in the neighbourhood, made the ſame ſort of complaints as Goodwin's children had made, two or three years before. The phyſicians, having no other way of accounting for the diſorder, pronounced them bewitched. An Indian woman, who was brought into the country from New Spain, and then lived with Mr. Parris, tried ſome experiments which ſhe pretended to be uſed to, in her own country, in order to find out the witch. This coming to the children's knowledge, they cried out upon the poor Indian, as appearing to them, pinching, pricking and tormenting them; and fell into fits. Tituba, the Indian, acknowledged that ſhe had learned how to find out a witch, but denied that ſhe was one herſelf. Several private faſts were kept at the miniſter's houſe, and ſeveral, more public, by the whole village, and then a general faſt through the colony, to ſeek to God to rebuke Satan &c. So much notice taken of the children, together with the pity and compaſſion, expreſſed by thoſe who viſited them, not only tended to confirm them in their deſign but to draw others into the like. Accordingly, the number of the complainants ſoon increaſed, and among them there were two or three women, and ſome girls old enough for witneſſes. Theſe had their fits too, and, when in them, cried out, not only againſt Tituba, but againſt Sarah Oſburn, a melancholly diſtracted old woman, and 1692.

* Douglaſs in his ſummary ſays, "In Salem and its neighbourhood, enthuſiaſm and other nervous diſorders ſeem to be endemial; it was the ſeat of the New-England witchcraft anno 1692." I queſtion whether he had any other foundation for this remark than meerly this ſcene of witchcraft, which muſt be conſidered as the diſtemper of the country in general, rather than of any particular town or county, and had Mr. Parris's family lived in any other part of the province, perhaps the neighbourhood would have been as much infected; and no impreſſion ought to be made to the diſadvantage of a town the moſt ancient, and at this day the ſecond in rank within the province, and upon other accounts juſtly reſpectable.

1692. and Sarah Good, another old woman who was bed-rid. Tituba, at length, confeſſed herſelf a witch, and that the two old women were her confederates; and they were all committed to priſon; and Tituba, upon ſearch, was found to have ſcars upon her back which were called the devil's mark, but might as well have been ſuppoſed thoſe of her Spaniſh maſter. This commitment was on the 1ſt of March. About three weeks after, two other women, of good characters and church members, Corey and Nurſe, were complained of and brought upon their examination; when theſe children fell into fits, and the mother of one of them, and wife of Thomas Putman, joined with the children and complained of Nurſe as tormenting her; and made moſt terrible ſhrieks, to the amazement of all the neighbourhood. The old women denied every thing; but were ſent to priſon; and ſuch was the infatuation, that a child of Sarah Good, about four or five years old, was committed alſo, being charged with biting ſome of the afflicted who ſhewed the print of ſmall teeth on their arms. On April 3d Mr. Parris took for his text, "*Have not I choſen you twelve and one of you is a devil.*" Sarah Cloyſe, ſuppoſing it to be occaſioned by Nurſe's caſe, who was her ſiſter, went out of meeting. She was, preſently after, complained of for a witch, examined and committed. Elizabeth Procter was charged about the ſame time: Her huſband, as every good huſband would have done, accompanied her to her examination, but it coſt the poor man his life. Some of the afflicted cried out upon him alſo, and they were both committed to priſon.

INSTEAD of ſuſpecting and ſifting the witneſſes, and ſuffering them to be croſs examined, the authority, to ſay no more, were imprudent in making uſe of leading queſtions, and thereby putting words into their mouths or ſuffering others to do it. Mr. Parris was over officious; moſt of the examinations, although in the preſence of one or more of the magiſtrates, were taken by him. The following examinations, of ſeveral of the accuſed, may ſerve as ſpecimens they being generally made in the ſame manner.

"AT

"At a court held at Salem 11th April 1692, by the honoured Thomas Danforth, Deputy Governor. Q. John ;† who hurt you? A. Goody Procter firſt, and then Goody Cloyſe. Q. What did ſhe do to you? A. She brought the book to me. Q. John! tell the truth, who hurts you? Have you been hurt? A. The firſt, was a gentlewoman I ſaw. Q. Who next? A. Goody Cloyſe. Q. But who hurt you next? A. Goody Procter. Q. What did ſhe do to you? A. She choaked me, and brought the book. Q. How oft did ſhe come to torment you? A. A good many times, ſhe and Goody Cloyſe. Q. Do they come to you in the night as well as the day? A. They come moſt in the day. Q. Who? A. Goody Cloyſe and Goody Procter. Q. Where did ſhe take hold of you? A. Upon my throat, to ſtop my breath. Q. Do you know Goody Cloyſe and Goody Procter? A. Yes, here is Goody Cloyſe. (Cloyſe) when did I hurt thee? A. A great many times. (Cloyſe) Oh! you are a grievous liar. Q. What did this Goody Cloyſe do to you? A. She pinched and bit me till the blood came. Q. How long ſince this woman came and hurt you? A. Yeſterday, at meeting. Q. At any time before? A. Yes a great many times. Q. Mary Walcot! who hurts you? A. Goody Cloyſe. Q. What did ſhe do to you? A. She hurt me. Q. Did ſhe bring the book? A. Yes. Q. What was you to do with it? A. To touch it, and be well.—Then ſhe fell into a fit. Q. Doth ſhe come alone? A. Sometimes alone, and ſometimes in company with Goody Nurſe and Goody Corey, and a great many I do not know.—Then ſhe fell into a fit again.—Q. Abigail Williams! did you ſee a company at Mr. Parris's houſe eat and drink? A. Yes Sir, that was their ſacrament. Q. How many were there? A. About forty, and Goody Cloyſe and Goody Good were their deacons. Q. What was it? A. They ſaid it was our blood, and they had it twice that day. Q. Mary Walcot! 1692.

† This was Tituba's huſband, who ſeems to have been a cunning fellow, and to avoid being accuſed joined with the afflicted.

1692. Walcot! have you ſeen a white man? Yes Sir, a great many times. Q. What ſort of man was he? A. A fine grave man, and when he came, he made all the witches to tremble.——Abigail Williams confirmed the ſame, and that they had ſuch a ſight at Deacon Ingerſoll's. Q. Who was at Deacon Ingerſoll's then? A. Goody Cloyſe, Goody Nurſe, Goody Corey, and Goody Good. ——Then Sarah Cloyſe aſked for water, and ſat down as one ſeized with a dying fainting fit; and ſeveral of the afflicted fell into fits, and ſome of them cried out, Oh! her ſpirit is gone to priſon to her ſiſter Nurſe.—— Q. Elizabeth Proctor! you underſtand whereof you are charged, viz. to be guilty of ſundry acts of witchcraft; what ſay you to it? Speak the truth, and ſo you that are afflicted, you muſt ſpeak the truth, as you will anſwer it before God another day. Mary Walcot! doth this woman hurt you? A. I never ſaw her ſo as to be hurt by her. Q. Mary Lewis! does ſhe hurt you?—Her mouth was ſtopped.—Q. Ann Putman! does ſhe hurt you?—She could not ſpeak.—Q. Abigail Williams! does ſhe hurt you?—Her hand was thruſt in her own mouth.—Q. John! does ſhe hurt you? A. This is the woman that came in her ſhift and choaked me. Q. Did ſhe ever bring the book? A. Yes Sir. Q. What to do? A. To write. Q. What, this woman? A. Yes Sir. Q. Are you ſure of it? A. Yes Sir.——Again, Abigail Williams and Ann Putman were ſpoke to by the court, but neither of them could make any anſwer, by reaſon of dumbneſs or other fits. Q. What do you ſay Goody Proctor to theſe things? A. I take God in heaven to be my witneſs, that I know nothing of it, no more than the child unborn. Q. Ann Putman! doth this woman hurt you. A. Yes Sir, a great many times, —Then the accuſed looked upon them and they fell into fits. Q. She does not bring the book to you, does ſhe? A. Yes Sir, often, and faith ſhe hath made her maid ſet her hand to it. Q. Abigail Williams! does this woman hurt you? A. Yes Sir, often. Q. Does ſhe bring

bring the book to you? A. Yes. Q. What would ſhe have you do with it? A. To write in it and I ſhall be well.——Did not you, ſaid Abigail, tell me, that your maid had written? (Procter) Dear Child, it is not ſo. There is another judgment, dear child.—Then Abigail and Ann had fits.—By and by they cried out, look you there is Goody Procter upon the beam.—By and by, both of them cried out of Goodman Procter himſelf, and ſaid he was a wizard.—Immediately, many, if not all of the bewitched, had grievous fits.—Q. Ann Putman! who hurt you? A. Goodman Procter and his wife too.—Afterwards, ſome of the afflicted cried, there is Procter going to take up Mrs. Pope's feet.—And her feet were immediately taken up.—Q. What do you ſay Goodman Procter to theſe things? A. I know not. I am innocent.——Abigail Williams cried out, there is Goodman Procter going to Mrs. Pope, and immediately, ſaid Pope fell into a fit.——You ſee the Devil will deceive you; the children could ſee what you was going to do before the woman was hurt. I would adviſe you to repentance, for the devil is bringing you out.—Abigail Williams cried out again, there is Goodman Procter going to hurt Goody Bibber; and immediately Goody Bibber fell into a fit. There was the like of Mary Walcot, and divers others.——Benjamin Gould gave in his teſtimony, that he had ſeen Goodman Corey and his wife, Procter and his wife, Goody Cloyſe, Goody Nurſe, and Goody Griggs in his chamber laſt thurſday night.——Elizabeth Hubbard was in a trance during the whole examination.—During the examination of Elizabeth Procter, Abigail Williams and Ann Putman, both, made offer to ſtrike at ſaid Procter; but when Abigail's hand came near, it opened, whereas it was made up into a fiſt before, and came down exceeding lightly, as it drew near to ſaid Procter, and at length with open and extended fingers, touched Procter's hood very lightly. Immediately Abigail cried out, her fingers, her fingers, her fingers burned, and Ann Putman took on moſt grievouſly, of her head, and ſunk down." 1692.

SALEM.

1692. "SALEM, April 11th, 1692. Mr. Samuel Parris was deſired by the honorable Thomas Danforth, deputy-governor, and the council, to take in writing the aforeſaid examinations, and accordingly took and delivered them in; and upon hearing the ſame, and ſeeing what was then ſeen, together with the charge of the afflicted perſons, were by the advice of the council all committed by us,

John Hawthorne, } Aſſiſtants."
John Corwin, }

No wonder the whole country was in a conſternation, when perſons, of ſober lives and unblemiſhed characters, were committed to priſon upon ſuch ſort of evidence. No body was ſafe. The moſt effectual way to prevent an accuſation, was to become an accuſer; and accordingly the number of the afflicted increaſed every day, and the number of the accuſed in proportion, who in general perſiſted in their innocency; but, being ſtrongly urged to give glory to God by their confeſſion, and intimation being given that this was the only way to ſave their lives, and their friends urging them to it, ſome were brought to own their guilt. The firſt confeſſion upon the files, is of Deliverance Hobbs, May 11th, 1692, being in priſon. She owned every thing ſhe was required to do. The confeſſions multiplied the witches; new companions were always mentioned, who were immediately ſent for and examined. Thus more than an hundred women, many of them of fair characters and of the moſt reputable families, in the towns of Salem, Beverly, Andover, Billerica, &c. were apprehended, examined and, generally, committed to priſon. The confeſſions being much of the ſame tenor, one or two may ſerve for ſpecimens.

"THE

"THE examination and confeſſion (8. Sept. 92.) of Mary Oſgood, wife of Captain Oſgood of Andover, taken before John Hawthorne and other their Majeſties juſtices. 1692.

SHE confeſſes, that about 11 years ago, when ſhe was in a melancholly ſtate and condition, ſhe uſed to walk abroad in her orchard; and upon a certain time, ſhe ſaw the appearance of a cat, at the end of the houſe, which yet ſhe thought was a real cat. However, at that time, it diverted her from praying to God, and inſtead thereof ſhe prayed to the devil; about which time ſhe made a covenant with the devil, who, as a black man, came to her and preſented her a book, upon which ſhe laid her finger and that left a red ſpot: And that upon her ſigning, the devil told her he was her God, and that ſhe ſhould ſerve and worſhip him, and, ſhe believes, ſhe conſented to it. She ſays further, that about two years agone, ſhe was carried through the air, in company with deacon Frye's wife, Ebenezer Baker's wife and Goody Tyler, to five mile pond, where ſhe was baptized by the devil, who dipped her face in the water and made her renounce her former baptiſm, and told her ſhe muſt be his, ſoul and body, forever, and that ſhe muſt ſerve him, which ſhe promiſed to do. She ſays, the renouncing her firſt baptiſm was after her dipping, and that ſhe was tranſported back again through the air, in company with the forenamed perſons, in the ſame manner as ſhe went, and believes they were carried upon a pole. Q. How many perſons were upon the pole? A. As I ſaid before, viz. four perſons and no more but whom ſhe had named above.—She confeſſes ſhe has afflicted three perſons, John Sawdy, Martha Sprague and Roſe Foſter, and that ſhe did it by pinching her bed cloaths, and giving conſent the devil ſhould do it in her ſhape, and that the devil could not do it without her conſent.—She confeſſes the afflicting perſons in the court, by the glance of her eye. She ſays, as ſhe was coming down to Salem to be examined, ſhe and the reſt of the company with her ſtopped at Mr. Phillips's to refreſh themſelves, and the afflicted

perſons

1692. perſons, being behind them upon the road, came up juſt as ſhe was mounting again and were then afflicted, and cried out upon her, ſo that ſhe was forced to ſtay until they were all paſt, and ſaid ſhe only looked that way towards them. Q. Do you know the devil can take the ſhape of an innocent perſon and afflict? A. I believe he cannot. Q. Who taught you this way of witchcraft? A. Satan, and that he promiſed her abundance of ſatisfaction and quietneſs in her future ſtate, but never performed any thing; and that ſhe has lived more miſerably and more diſcontented ſince, than ever before. She confeſſes further, that ſhe herſelf, in company with Goody Parker, Goody Tyler and Goody Dean, had a meeting at Moſes Tyler's houſe, laſt monday night, to afflict, and that ſhe and Goody Dean carried the ſhape of Mr. Dean, the miniſter, between them, to make perſons believe that Mr. Dean afflicted. Q. What hindered you from accompliſhing what you intended? A. The Lord would not ſuffer it ſo to be, that the devil ſhould afflict in an innocent perſon's ſhape. Q. Have you been at any other witch meetings? A. I know nothing thereof, as I ſhall anſwer in the preſence of God and his people; but ſaid, that the black man ſtood before her, and told her, that what ſhe had confeſſed was a lie; notwithſtanding, ſhe ſaid that what ſhe had confeſſed was true, and thereto put her hand. Her huſband being preſent was aſked, if he judged his wife to be any way diſcompoſed. He anſwered, that having lived with her ſo long, he doth not judge her to be any ways diſcompoſed, but has cauſe to believe what ſhe has ſaid is true.——When Miſtreſs Oſgood was firſt called, ſhe afflicted Martha Sprague and Roſe Foſter, by the glance of her eyes, and recovered them out of their fits by the touch of her hand. Mary Lacey and Betty Johnſon and Hannah Poſt ſaw Miſtreſs Oſgood afflicting Sprague and Foſter.——The ſaid Hannah Poſt and Mary Lacey and Betty Johnſon, jun. and Roſe Foſter and Mary Richardſon were afflicted by Miſtreſs Oſgood, in the time of their examination, and recovered by her touching of their hands.

I underwitten, being appointed by authority, to take this examination, do teſtify upon oath, taken in court, that this is a true copy of the ſubſtance of it, to the beſt of my knowledge, 5 Jan. 1692-3. The within Mary Oſgood was examined before their Majeſties juſtices of the peace in Salem. 1692.

Atteſt. John Higginſon, Juſt. Pac."

A miſerable negro woman, charged by ſome of the girls with afflicting them, confeſſed, but was cunning enough to bring the greateſt ſhare of the guilt upon her miſtreſs.

"SALEM, Monday July 4. 1692. The examination of Candy, a negro woman, before Bartholomew Gedney and John Hawthorne Eſq'rs. Mr. Nicholas Noyes alſo preſent.

"Q. Candy! are you a witch? A. Candy no witch in her country. Candy's mother no witch. Candy no witch, Barbados. This country, miſtreſs give Candy witch. Q. Did your miſtreſs make you a witch in this country? A. Yes, in this country miſtreſs give Candy witch. Q. What did your miſtreſs do to make you a witch? A. Miſtreſs bring book and pen and ink, make Candy write in it. Q. What did you write in it? ——She took a pen and ink and upon a book or paper made a mark. Q. How did you afflict or hurt theſe folks, where are the puppets you did it with?——She aſked to go out of the room and ſhe would ſhew or tell; upon which ſhe had liberty, one going with her, and ſhe preſently brought in two clouts, one with two knots tied in it, the other one; which being ſeen by Mary Warren, Deliverance Hobbs and Abigail Hobbs, they were greatly affrighted and fell into violent fits, and all of them ſaid that the black man and Mrs. Hawkes and the negro ſtood by the puppets or rags and pinched them, and then they were afflicted, and when the knots were untied yet they continued as aforeſaid. A bit of

1692. one of the rags being ſet on fire, the afflicted all ſaid they were burned, and cried out dreadfully. The rags being put into water, two of the forenamed perſons were in dreadful fits almoſt choaked, and the other was violently running down to the river, but was ſtopped.

Atteſt. John Hawthorne, Juſt. Peace."

MRS. Hawkes, the miſtreſs, had no other way to ſave her life but to confeſs alſo.

MR. Hale, the miniſter of Beverly, who has the character of an impartial relator, acknowledges that the confeſſors, generally, went off from their confeſſions; ſome ſaying they remembered nothing of what they had ſaid, others that they had belied themſelves, &c. but he thinks, if the times had been calm, the condition of the confeſſors might have called for a *melius inquirendum*; and thinks it remarkable that children and grandchildren ſhould confirm their parents and grand-parents confeſſion, inſtancing in the caſe of Goody Foſter, her daughter Mary Lacey, and grand-daughter Mary Lacey, jun. and that other children ſhould accuſe their own parents, as in the caſe of Richard Carrier, a lad of 18 years of age. Theſe confeſſions are preſerved, and a few extracts from them will ſhew they were forced from them, through fear of loſing their lives if they refuſed, and their fear, in ſome, was ſo great as to diſorder their brains, and they ſcarce knew what they ſaid.

"21ſt July 1692. Before Major Gidney, Mr. Hawthorne, Mr. Corwin and Capt. Higginſon.

"Q. Goody Foſter! you remember we have three times ſpoken with you, and do you now remember what you then confeſſed to us?—You have been engaged in very great wickedneſs, and ſome have been left to hardneſs of heart to deny; but it ſeems that God will give you more favour than others, inaſmuch as you relent,

relent. But your daughter here hath confeſſed ſome things that you did not tell us of. Your daughter was with you and Goody Carrier, when you did ride upon the ſtick. A. I did not know it. Q. How long have you known your daughter to be engaged? A. I cannot tell, nor have I any knowledge of it at all. Q. Did you ſee your daughter at the meeting? A. No. Q. Your daughter ſaid ſhe was at the witches meeting, and that you yourſelf ſtood at a diſtance off and did not partake at that meeting; and you ſaid ſo alſo; give us a relation from the beginning until now. A. I know none of their names that were there, but only Goody Carrier. Q. Would you know their faces if you ſaw them? A. I cannot tell. Q. Were there not two companies in the field at the ſame time? A. I remember no more.——Mary Warren, one of the afflicted, ſaid that Goody Carrier's ſhape told her, that Goody Foſter had made her daughter a witch.——Q. Do not you acknowledge that you did ſo about 13 years ago? A. No, and I know no more of my daughter's being a witch than what day I ſhall die upon. Q. Are you willing your daughter ſhould make a full and free confeſſion? A. Yes. Q. Are you willing to do ſo too? A. Yes. Q. You cannot expect peace of conſcience without a free confeſſion. A. If I knew any thing more, I would ſpeak it to the utmoſt.——Goody Lacey, the daughter, called in, began thus; Oh! mother! how do you do? We have left Chriſt, and the devil hath gat hold of us. How ſhall I get rid of this evil one? I deſire God to break my rocky heart that I may get the victory this time. Q. Goody Foſter! you cannot get rid of this ſnare, your heart and mouth is not open. A. I did not ſee the devil, I was praying to the Lord. Q. What Lord? A. To God. Q. What God do witches pray to? A. I cannot tell, the Lord help me. Q. Goody Lacey! had you no diſcourſe with your mother when riding? A. No, I think I had not a word. 1692.

1692. Who rid foremoſt on that ſtick to the village? A. I ſuppoſe my mother.—— Goody Foſter ſaid, that Goody Carrier was foremoſt——Q. Goody Lacey! how many years ago ſince they were baptized? A. Three or four years ago, I ſuppoſe. Q. Who baptized them? A. The old ſerpent. Q. How did he do it? A. He dipped their heads in the water, ſaying, they were his and that he had power over them. Q. Where was this? A. At Fall's river. Q. How many were baptized that day? A. Some of the chief; I think there were ſix baptized. Q. Name them. A. I think they were of the higher powers. †——— Mary Lacey, the grand-daughter, was brought in, and Mary Warren fell into a violent fit. Q. How dare you come in here, and bring the devil with you, to afflict theſe poor creatures?——Lacey laid her hand on Warren's arm, and ſhe recovered from her fit. —Q. You are here accuſed of practiſing witchcraft upon Goody Ballard, which way do you do it? A. I cannot tell. Where is my mother that made me a witch, and I knew it not? Q. Can you look upon that maid Mary Warren, and not hurt her? Look upon her in a friendly way.—She, trying ſo to do, ſtruck her down with her eyes. Q. Do you acknowledge now you are a witch? A. Yes. Q. How long have you been a witch? A. Not above a week. Q. Did the devil appear to you? A. Yes. Q. In what ſhape? A. In the ſhape of a horſe. Q. What did he ſay to you? A. He bid me not to be afraid of any thing, and he would not bring me out, but he has proved a liar from the beginning. Q. When was this? A. I know not; above a week. Q. Did you ſet your hand to the book? A. No. Q. Did he bid you worſhip him? A. Yes, he bid me alſo afflict perſons. ———You are now in the way to obtain mercy if you will confeſs and repent. She ſaid, the Lord help me. Q. Do not you deſire to be ſaved by Chriſt? A. Yes. ——Then you muſt confeſs freely what you know in this

† It was time to ſtop.

this matter. She then proceeded.——I was in bed and the devil came to me and bid me obey him and I ſhould want for nothing, and he would not bring me out. Q. But how long ago? A. A little more than a year. Q. Was that the firſt time? A. Yes. Q. How long was you gone from your father, when you ran away? A. Two days. Q. Where had you your food? A. At John Stone's. Q. Did the devil appear to you then, when you was abroad? A. No, but he put ſuch thoughts in my mind as not to obey my parents. Q. Who did the devil bid you afflict? A. Timothy Swan. Richard Carrier comes often a nights and has me to afflict perſons. Q. Where do ye go? A. To Goody Ballard's ſometimes. Q. How many of you were there at a time? A. Richard Carrier and his mother, and my mother and grandmother.——Upon reading over the confeſſion ſo far, Goody Lacey, the mother, owned this laſt particular. Q. How many more witches are there in Andover? A. I know no more, but Richard Carrier." 1692.

CARRIER, at firſt, denied all, but was followed until he was brought to accuſe his mother, much in the ſame manner with Foſter's daughter and grand-daughter.

IT is urged by the writers of that day, as a principal part of the evidence againſt Mr. Burroughs, the miniſter, that ſeven or eight of the confeſſors witneſſed againſt him. It will appear from the examinations, that the confeſſion was drawn from the examinants by the court.

"Q. Mary Lacey! was there not a man alſo among you at your meeting? A. None but the devil. Q. What ſhape was the devil in then? A. He was a black man, and had a high crowned hat. Q. Your mother and your grandmother ſay, there was a miniſter there. How many men did you ſee there? A. I ſaw none but Richard Carrier. Q. Did you ſee none elſe? A. There was a miniſter there, and I think he is now in priſon.

1692. Q. Were there not two* miniſters there? A. Cannot tell.
Q. Was there not one Mr. Burroughs there? A. Yes."

CARRIER's examination is in this manner; the queſtions are omitted. "We met in a green which was the miniſter's paſture——We were in two companies at laſt ——I think there was a few men with them——I heard Sarah Good talk of a miniſter or two——One of them was he that has been at the eaſtward, his name is Burroughs, and is a little man.——I remember not the other's name."

MARGARET JACOBS had been brought to accuſe herſelf, and then to charge Burroughs, the miniſter, and her own grandfather; but, ſtruck with horror, choſe to loſe her own life, rather than perſiſt in her confeſſion; and begged forgiveneſs of Burroughs before his execution, who is ſaid to have freely forgiven her; and recanted all ſhe had ſaid againſt her grandfather, but in vain as to his life. Her own life was ſaved by a diſorder in her head, which prevented her trial at the firſt court; but before the next court, ſhe made a formal recantation of all ſhe had confeſſed, and delivered it to the judges.

"THE humble declaration of Margaret Jacobs unto the honoured court now ſitting at Salem, ſheweth,

"THAT whereas your poor and humble declarant being cloſely confined here in Salem goal for the crime of witchcraft, which crime thanks be to the Lord I am

* Mr. Deane, one of the miniſters of Andover, then near fourſcore, ſeems to have been in danger. He is tenderly touched in ſeveral of the examinations, which might be owing to a fair character, and he may be one of the perſons accuſed, who cauſed a diſcouragement to further proſecutions. "Deliverance Deane being aſked why ſhe and the reſt brought in Mr. Deane as afflicting perſons, ſhe anſwered, it was Satan's ſubtilty, for he told her he would put a ſham upon all theſe things, and make people believe that he did afflict. She ſaid Mrs. Oſgood and ſhe gave their conſent the devil ſhould bring Mr. Deane's ſhape to afflict. Being aſked again if Mrs. Oſgood and ſhe acted this buſineſs, ſhe ſaid yes." Mr. Deane was much beholden to this woman.

I am altogether ignorant of, as will appear at the great day of judgment: May it pleaſe the honoured court, I was cried out upon by ſome of the poſſeſſed perſons, as afflicting them; whereupon I was brought to my examination, which perſons at the ſight of me fell down, which did very much ſtartle and affright me. The Lord above knows I knew nothing, in the leaſt meaſure, how or who afflicted them; they told me, without doubt I did, or elſe they would not fall down at me; they told me, if I would not confeſs I ſhould be put down into the dungeon and would be hanged, but if I would confeſs I ſhould have my life; the which did ſo affright me, with my own vile wicked heart, to ſave my life; made me make the like confeſſion I did, which confeſſion, may it pleaſe the honoured court, is altogether falſe and untrue. The very firſt night after I had made confeſſion, I was in ſuch horror of conſcience that I could not ſleep for fear the devil ſhould carry me away for telling ſuch horrid lies. I was, may it pleaſe the honoured court, ſworn to my confeſſion, as I underſtand ſince, but then, at that time, was ignorant of it, not knowing what an oath did mean. The Lord, I hope, in whom I truſt, out of the abundance of his mercy, will forgive me my falſe forſwearing myſelf. What I ſaid, was altogether falſe againſt my grandfather, and Mr. Burroughs, which I did to ſave my life and to have my liberty; but the Lord, charging it to my conſcience, made me in ſo much horror, that I could not contain my ſelf before I had denied my confeſſion, which I did though I ſaw nothing but death before me, chuſing rather death with a quiet conſcience, than to live in ſuch horror, which I could not ſuffer. Where, upon my denying my confeſſion, I was committed to cloſe priſon, where I have enjoyed more felicity in ſpirit, a thouſand times, than I did before in my enlargement. 1692.

"And now, may it pleaſe your honours, your declarant, having, in part, given your honours a deſcription of my condition, do leave it to your honours pious and

1692. judicious diſcretions, to take pity and compaſſion on my young and tender years, to act and do with me, as the Lord above and your honours ſhall ſee good, having no friend, but the Lord, to plead my cauſe for me; not being guilty in the leaſt meaſure of the crime of witchcraft, nor any other ſin that deſerves death from man; and your poor and humble declarant ſhall for ever pray, as ſhe is bound in duty, for your honours happineſs in this life and eternal felicity in the world to come, So prays your honours declarant.

Margaret Jacobs."

THE recantation of ſeveral perſons in Andover will ſhew in what manner they were brought to their confeſſions.

"WE whoſe names are under-written, inhabitants of Andover; whenas that horrible and tremendous judgment beginning at Salem village in the year 1692, by ſome called whichcraft, firſt breaking forth at Mr. Parris's houſe, ſeveral young perſons, being ſeemingly afflicted, did accuſe ſeveral perſons for afflicting them, and many there believing it ſo to be, we being informed that, if a perſon was ſick, the afflicted perſon could tell what or who was the cauſe of that ſickneſs: Joſeph Ballard, of Andover, his wife being ſick at the ſame time, he, either from himſelf or by the advice of others, fetched two of the perſons, called the afflicted perſons, from Salem village to Andover, which was the beginning of that dreadful calamity that befel us in Andover, believing the ſaid accuſations to be true, ſent for the ſaid perſons to come together to the meeting houſe in Andover, the afflicted perſons being there. After Mr. Barnard had been at prayer, we were blindfolded, and our hands were laid upon the afflicted perſons, they being in their fits and falling into their fits at our coming into their preſence, as they ſaid; and ſome led us and laid our hands upon them, and then they ſaid they were well, and that

we

we were guilty of afflicting them: Whereupon, we were all ſeized, as priſoners, by a warrant from the juſtice of the peace and forthwith carried to Salem. And, by reaſon of that ſudden ſurprizal, we knowing ourſelves altogether innocent of that crime, we were all exceedingly aſtoniſhed and amazed, and conſternated and affrighted even out of our reaſon; and our neareſt and deareſt relations, ſeeing us in that dreadful condition, and knowing our great danger, apprehended there was no other way to ſave our lives, as the caſe was then circumſtanced, but by our confeſſing ourſelves to be ſuch and ſuch perſons as the afflicted repreſented us to be, they, out of tenderneſs and pity, perſuaded us to confeſs what we did confeſs. And indeed that confeſſion, that it is ſaid we made, was no other than what was ſuggeſted to us by ſome gentlemen, they telling us that we were witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, which made us think that it was ſo; and our underſtandings, our reaſon, our faculties, almoſt gone, we were not capable of judging of our condition; as alſo the hard meaſures they uſed with us rendered us incapable of making our defence, but ſaid any thing and every thing which they deſired, and moſt of what we ſaid was but, in effect, a conſenting to what they ſaid. Some time after, when we were better compoſed, they telling us what we had confeſſed, we did profeſs that we were innocent and ignorant of ſuch things; and we hearing that Samuel Wardwell had renounced his confeſſion, and quickly after condemned and executed, ſome of us were told we were going after Wardwell. 1692.

"Mary Oſgood, Deliverance Dane, Sarah Wilſon,
Mary Tiler, Abigail Barker, Hannah Tiler."

THE teſtimonial to theſe perſons characters by the principal inhabitants of Andover will outweigh the credulity of the juſtices who committed them, or of the grand jury which found bills againſt them.

"To

1692. "To the honoured court of Aſſize held at Salem. THE humble addreſs of ſeveral of the inhabitants of Andover.

"May it pleaſe this honoured court,

"WE being very ſenſible of the great ſufferings our neighbours have been long under in priſon, and charitably judging that many of them are clear of that great trangreſſion which hath been laid to their charge, have thought it our duty to endeavour their vindication ſo far as our teſtimony for them will avail. The perſons in whoſe behalf we are deſired and concerned to ſpeak ſomething at preſent are Mrs. Mary Oſgood, Eunice Frye, Deliverance Dane, Sarah Wilton and Abigail Barker who are women of whom we can truly give this character and commendation, that they have not only lived among us ſo inoffenſively as not to give the leaſt occaſion to any that know them to ſuſpect them of witchcraft, but by their ſober godly and exemplary converſation have obtained a good report in the place, where they have been well eſteemed and approved in the church of which they are members.

"WE were ſurprized to hear that perſons of known integrity and piety were accuſed of ſo horrid a crime, not conſidering, then, that the moſt innocent were liable to be ſo miſrepreſented and abuſed. When theſe women were accuſed by ſome afflicted perſons of the neighbourhood, their relations and others, tho' they had ſo good grounds of charity that they ſhould not have thought any evil of them yet, through a miſrepreſentation of the truth of that evidence that was ſo much credited and improved againſt people, took great pains to perſuade them to own what they were, by the afflicted, charged with, and, indeed, did unreaſonably urge them to confeſs themſelves guilty, as ſome of us who were then preſent can teſtify. But theſe good women did very much aſſert their innocency, yet ſome of them ſaid they were

were not without fear leaſt Satan had ſome way enſnar- 1692.
ed them, becauſe there was that evidence againſt them which then was by many thought to be a certain indication and diſcovery of witchcraft, yet they ſeriouſly profeſſed they knew nothing by themſelves of that nature. Nevertheleſs, by the unwearied ſollicitations of thoſe that privately diſcourſed them both at home and at Salem, they were at length perſuaded publickly to own what they were charged with and ſo ſubmit to that guilt which we ſtill hope and believe they are clear of. And, it is probable, the fear of what the event might be and the encouragement that, it is ſaid, was ſuggeſted to them, that confeſſing was the only way to obtain favour, might be too powerful a temptation for timorous women to withſtand, in the hurry and diſtraction that we have heard they were then in. Had what they ſaid againſt themſelves proceeded from conviction of the fact, we ſhould have had nothing to have ſaid for them, but we are induced to think that it did not, becauſe they did ſoon privately retract what they had ſaid, as we are informed, and, while they were in priſon, they declared to ſuch as they had confidence to ſpeak freely and plainly to, that they were not guilty of what they had owned, and that what they had ſaid againſt themſelves was the greateſt grief and burden they laboured under: Now, though we cannot but judge it a thing very ſinful for innocent perſons to own a crime they are not gulity of, yet, conſidering the well ordered converſation of thoſe women while they lived among us, and what they now ſeriouſly and conſtantly affirm in a more compoſed frame, we cannot but in charity judge them innocent of the great tranſgreſſion that hath been imputed to them. As for the reſt of our neighbours, who are under the like circumſtances with theſe that have been named, we can truly ſay of them that, while they lived among us, we have had no cauſe to judge them ſuch perſons as, of late, they have been repreſented and reported to be, nor do we know

that

1692. that any of their neighbours had any juſt grounds to ſuſpect them of that evil that they are now charged with.

Dudley Bradſtreet	John Abbot, ſen.	Elizabeth Rite
Francis Dane, ſen.	Samuel Blanchard	Wm. Peters
Thomas Barnard	Wm. Ballard	Sam. Peters
Tho. Chandler, ſen.	Thomas Hooper	Walter Wright
John Barker	John Hooper	Hooker Oſgood
Henry Ingolls, ſen.	Wm. Abbot	Benja. Stevens
Wm. Chandler, ſen.	James Ruſſell	Ann Bradſtreet
Samuel Martin	Oliver Holt	Joanna Dane
Stephen Parker	John Preſſon	Eliza. Stevens
Samuel Ingolls	Francis Dane, jun.	Eliza. Barnard
Ephraim Stevens	George Abbot	Phebe Robinſon
Daniel Poore	Wm. Chandler, jun.	Hannah Chandler
John Ingolls	John Chandler	Hannah Dane
Henry Ingolls, jun.	Joſeph Robinſon	Bridget Chandler
John Frie, ſen.	Thomas Johnſon	Mary Johnſon
James Frie	Tho. Johnſon, jun.	Robert Ruſſel
John Aſlebee	Andrew Peters	Mary Ruſſel."
Samuel Holt	Mary Peters	

AMONG the confeſſing witches I find Dorothy Falkener, a child of 10 years, Abigail Falkener of 8, and Sarah Carrier between 7 and 8.

"SARAH CARRIER's confeſſion Aug. the 11th, 1696. "IT was aſked Sarah Carrier by the Magiſtrates or Juſtices John Hawthorne Eſq; and others: How long haſt thou been a witch? A. Ever ſince I was ſix years old. Q. How old are you now? A. Near eight years old, brother Richard ſays I ſhall be eight years old in November next. Q. Who made you a witch? A. My mother, ſhe made me ſet my hand to a book. Q. How did you ſet your hand to it? A. I touched it with my fingers and the book was red, the paper of it was white. She ſaid ſhe never had ſeen the black man; the place where ſhe did it was in Andrew Foſter's paſture and Elizabeth Johnſon junr. was there. Being aſked who was there beſide, ſhe anſwered her Aunt Toothaker

aker and her couſin. Being aſked when it was, ſhe ſaid, 1692.
when ſhe was baptized. Q. What did they promiſe to give you? A. A black dog. Q. Did the dog ever come to you? A. No. Q. But you ſaid you ſaw a cat once. What did that ſay to you? A. It ſaid it would tear me in pieces if I would not ſet my hand to the book. She ſaid her mother baptized her and the devil or black man was not there, as ſhe ſaw, and her mother ſaid when ſhe baptized her, thou art mine for ever and ever and amen. Q. How did you afflict folks? A. I pinched them, and ſhe ſaid ſhe had no puppets, but ſhe went to them that ſhe afflicted. Being aſked whether ſhe went in her body or her ſpirit, ſhe ſaid in her ſpirit. She ſaid her mother carried her thither to afflict. Q. How did your mother carry you when ſhe was in priſon? A. She came like a black cat. Q. How did you know that it was your mother? A. The cat told me ſo that ſhe was my mother. She ſaid ſhe afflicted Phelps's child laſt ſaturday, and Elizabeth Johnſon joined with her to do it. She had a wooden ſpear, about as long as her finger, of Elizabeth Johnſon, and ſhe had it of the devil. She would not own that ſhe had ever been at the witch meeting at the village. This is the ſubſtance.

Atteſt. Simon Willard."

This poor child's mother then lay under ſentence of death, the mother of the other two children was in priſon, and ſoon after tried and condemned, but upon her confeſſion reprieved, and finally pardoned.

I meet with but one perſon in near an hundred whoſe examinations are upon file, that was diſmiſſed after having been once charged, for which he might thank one of the girls who would not agree with the reſt in the accuſation.

"THE examination of Nehemiah Abbot, at a court at Salem village, by John Hawthorne and Jonathan Corwin Eſq'rs. 22d April 1692.

WHAT ſay you, are you guilty of witchcraft, of which you are ſuſpected, or not? No Sir, I ſay before God, before whom I ſtand, that I know nothing of

1692. of witchcraft. Who is this man? Ann Putman named him.—Mary Walcot ſaid ſhe had ſeen his ſhape. What do you ſay to this? I never did hurt them. Who hurt you Ann Putman? That man. I never hurt her. Ann Putman ſaid, he is upon the beam. Juſt ſuch a diſcovery of the perſon carried out, and ſhe confeſſed; and if you would find mercy of God, you muſt confeſs. —If I ſhould confeſs this, I muſt confeſs what is falſe, Tell how far you have gone, who hurts you? I do not know, I am abſolutely free. As you ſay, God knows. If you will confeſs the truth, we deſire nothing elſe that you may not hide your guilt, if you are guilty, and therefore confeſs if ſo. I ſpeak before God that I am clear from this accuſation. What, in all reſpects? Yes in all reſpects. Doth this man hurt you? Their mouths were ſtopped. You hear ſeveral accuſe you, though one cannot open her mouth. I am altogether free. Charge him not unleſs it be he. This is the man ſay ſome, and ſome ſay he is very like him. How did you know his name? He did not tell me himſelf, but other witches told me. Ann Putman ſaid, it is the ſame man, and then ſhe was taken with a fit. Mary Walcot, is this the man? He is like him, I cannot ſay it is he. Mercy Lewis ſaid it is not the man. They all agreed, the man had a bunch on his eyes. Ann Putman, in a fit, ſaid, be you the man? ay, do you ſay you be the man? did you put a miſt before my eyes? Then he was ſent forth till ſeveral others were examined. When he was brought in again, by reaſon of much people and many in the windows ſo that the accuſers could not have a clear view of him, he was ordered to be abroad, and the accuſers to go forth to him and view him in the light, which they did, and in the preſence of the magiſtrates and many others diſcourſed quietly with him, one and all acquitting him, but yet ſaid he was like that man, but he had not the wen they ſaw in his apparition. Note, he was a hilly faced man and ſtood ſhaded by reaſon of his own hair, ſo that for a time he ſeemed to

ſome

ſome by-ſtanders and obſervers, to be conſiderably like 1692.
the perſon the afflicted did deſcribe.

" Mr. Samuel Parris, being deſired to take in writing the examination of Nehemiah Abbot, hath delivered it as aforeſaid, and upon hearing the ſame did ſee cauſe to diſmiſs him. John Hawthorne, Jona. Corwin, } Aſſiſtants."

We ſee, from the preceding examinations and confeſſions, the method of proceeding preparatory to the trial of the accuſed perſons.

For three or four months, the afflicted, generally, confined themſelves to their own neighbourhood, in their accuſations. In the examinations there is, ſometimes, mention made of ſtrangers, whoſe ſhapes or ſpectres were unknown to the afflicted. The firſt accuſed, in any other county, was Mrs. Cary, wife of Mr. Nathaniel Cary, a principal inhabitant of the town of Charleſtown. He, as ſoon as he heard of it, carried his wife to Salem village, ſuppoſing ſhe would not be known to the afflicted. They happened to arrive, juſt as the juſtices were going into the meeting houſe, where they held their court, to examine priſoners. All the priſoners, which were brought in, were accuſed, and the girls fell into fits as uſual; but Mrs. Cary came in and ſat without any notice, except that one or two of the afflicted came to her and aſked her name. After the examination, her huſband went to the tavern, intending there to diſcourſe with one of the girls, who he heard had accuſed his wife. John, the Indian who pretended to be one of the afflicted, was a ſervant in the houſe. Two of the girls were ſoon brought in, and inſtead of giving any opportunity of diſcourſing with them, they tumbled about the floor, crying out Cary, Cary, and a warrant came to apprehend her; the Indian joining with the two girls in the charge. No bail could be admitted, nor was it to any purpoſe to make any defence, and ſhe was ordered to the priſon in Boſton; but, upon the requeſt of her huſband, was removed

1692. removed to Cambridge goal, where ſhe was kept in irons. Afterwards when the trials came on at Salem, her huſband went there to ſee how they were managed, and he thought the only chance his wife had for her life, was by an eſcape, which, by ſome means or other, he effected, and fled with her to New York, where Governor Fletcher entertained them very courteouſly.—— They petitioned, I ſuppoſe before the eſcape, that ſhe might be tried in the county where ſhe lived. If the court thought they were held to try the fact in the county where it was committed, there ſeems to have been room for an argument, her body being in Middleſex at the ſame time that her ſpectre and the body of the afflicted perſons were in Eſſex.

Mrs. Cary was committed about the middle of May. Towards the end of the month, Capt. John Alden of Boſton was accuſed, who was thereupon ſent down to Salem. He had been many years commander of a ſloop in the colony ſervice, employed for ſupplying the forts eaſt with proviſions and ſtores; and although, upon his firſt appearing, the juſtices allowed that he always had the character of an honeſt man, yet one of them, Gidney, ſoon after, let him know he then ſaw reaſon to think otherwiſe of him. Alden, in his account, ſays, that the accuſer firſt pointed to another man and ſaid nothing, but that the man who held her ſtooped down to her ear and then ſhe cried out Alden, Alden. All were ordered into the ſtreets and a ring made, and then ſhe cried out, *there ſtands Alden a bold fellow with his hat on, ſells powder and ſhot to the Indians, lies with the ſquaws and has papooſes &c.* He was immediately taken into cuſtody of the Marſhall and required to deliver up his ſword. A further examination was had in the meeting houſe, and his hands were held open by the officer, that he might not pinch the afflicted, who were ſtruck down at the ſight of him, and made their uſual cries; all which, the juſtices deem'd ſufficient grounds for committing him to goal, where he lay 15 weeks, and then he was prevailed

prevailed on by his friends to make his eſcape, and to abſent himſelf until the conſternation ſhould abate, and the people recover the uſe of their reaſon. 1692.

ALTHOUGH the number of priſoners had been increaſing, from February until the beginning of June, yet there had been no trials. The charter was expected from day to day, and the new conſtitution of government to take place. Soon after it's arrival, commiſſioners of oyer and terminer were appointed for the trial of witchcrafts. By the charter, the general aſſembly are to conſtitute courts of juſtice, and the governor with the advice of council is to nominate and appoint judges, commiſſioners of oyer and terminer, &c. but whether the governor, with advice of council, can conſtitute a court of oyer and terminer, without authority for that purpoſe derived from the general aſſembly, has been made a queſtion; however, this, the moſt important court to the life of the ſubject which ever was held in the province, was conſtituted in no other manner. It was opened at Salem, the firſt week in June. Only one of the accuſed, Bridget Biſhop, alias Oliver, was then brought to trial. She had been charged with witchcraft twenty years before. The accuſer, upon his death bed, confeſſed his own guilt in the accuſation; but an old woman, once charged with being a witch, is never afterwards wholly free from the accuſation, and ſhe being, beſides, of a fractious temper, all the loſſes the neighbours met with in their cattle and poultry, and accidents in overſetting their carts, &c. were attributed to her ſpite againſt them, and now ſuffered to be teſtified againſt her. This evidence, together with the teſtimony of the afflicted, and of the confeſſors, what they had heard from the ſpectres and ſeen of her ſpectre, and an excreſcence, called a teat, found upon her body, were deemed by court and jury plenary proof, and ſhe was convicted, and on the 10th of June executed. The further trials were put off to the adjournment, the 30th of June. The governor and council thought proper, in the mean time,

1692. to take the opinion of ſeveral of the principal miniſters upon the ſtate of things as they then ſtood. This was an old charter practice. They gave their opinion as follows. *

"THE return of ſeveral miniſters, conſulted by his Excellency and the honorable council upon the preſent witchcraft in Salem village.

Boſton, June 15th, 1692.

"1. THE afflicted ſtate of our poor neighbours, that are now ſuffering by moleſtations from the inviſible world, we apprehend ſo deplorable, that we think their condition calls for the utmoſt help of all perſons in their ſeveral capacities.

"2. WE cannot but, with all thankfulneſs, acknowledge the ſucceſs which the merciful God has given to the ſedulous and aſſiduous endeavours of our honorable rulers, to defeat the abominable witchcrafts which have been committed in the country, humbly praying, that the diſcovery of thoſe myſterious and miſchievous wickedneſſes may be perfected.

"3. WE judge that in the proſecution of theſe and all ſuch witchcrafts, there is need of a very critical and exquiſite caution, leſt by too much credulity for things received only upon the devil's authority, there be a door opened for a long train of miſerable conſequences, and Satan get an advantage over us; for we ſhould not be ignorant of his devices.

"4. AS, in complaints upon witchcrafts, there may be matters of enquiry which do not amount unto matters of preſumption, and there may be matters of preſumption which yet may not be matters of conviction, ſo it is neceſſary, that all proceedings, thereabout, be managed with an exceeding tenderneſs towards thoſe that may be complained

* I fancy this muſt be what Douglaſs had heard ſomething of and calls by miſtake "the addreſs of many of the very popular but very weak miniſters or clergy to Sir W. P. a very weak governor, with thanks for what was already done, and exhorting him to proceed."

complained of, eſpecially if they have been perſons formerly of an unblemiſhed reputation. 1692.

"5. When the firſt enquiry is made into the circumſtances of ſuch as may lye under the juſt ſuſpicion of witchcrafts, we could wiſh that there may be admitted as little as poſſible of ſuch noiſe, company and openneſs as may too haſtily expoſe them that are examined, and that there may be nothing uſed as a teſt for the trial of the ſuſpected, the lawfulneſs whereof may be doubted by the people of God; but that the directions given by ſuch judicious writers, as Perkins and Bernard, may be obſerved.

"6. Presumptions whereupon perſons may be committed and, much more, convictions whereupon perſons may be condemned, as guilty of witchcrafts, ought certainly to be more conſiderable than barely the accuſed perſon's being repreſented by a ſpectre unto the afflicted; inaſmuch as it is an undoubted and a notorious thing, that a dæmon may, by God's permiſſion, appear, even to ill purpoſes, in the ſhape of an innocent, yea and a virtuous man. Nor can we eſteem alterations made in the ſufferers, by a look or touch of the accuſed, to be an infallible evidence of guilt, but frequently liable to be abuſed by the devil's leger-demain.

"7. We know not whether ſome remarkable affronts given the devils, by our diſbelieving thoſe teſtimonies whoſe whole force and ſtrength is from them alone, may not put a period unto the progreſs of the dreadful calamity begun upon us, in the accuſation of ſo many perſons, whereof ſome, we hope, are yet clear from the great tranſgreſſion laid to their charge.

"8. Nevertheless, we cannot but humbly recommend, unto the government, the ſpeedy and vigorous proſecutions, of ſuch as have rendered themſelves obnoxious, according to the directions given in the laws of God and the wholſome ſtatutes of the Engliſh nation, for the detection of witchcrafts."

1692. THE judges ſeem to have paid more regard to the laſt article of this return, than to ſeveral which precede it; for the proſecutions were carried on with all poſſible vigor and without that exquiſite caution which is propoſed.

AT the firſt trial, there was no colony or provincial law againſt witchcraft in force. The ſtatute of James the firſt muſt therefore have been conſidered as in force in the province, witchcraft not being an offence at common law. Before the adjournment, the old colony law, which makes witchcraft a capital offence, was revived, with the other local laws, as they were called, and made a law of the province.

AT the adjournment, June 30. five women were brought upon trial, Sarah Good, Rebekah Nurſe, Suſannah Martin, Elizabeth How, and Sarah Wilder.

THERE was no difficulty with any but Nurſe. She was a member of the church and of a good character, and, as to her, the jury brought in their verdict not guilty; upon which the accuſers made a great clamour, and the court expreſſed their diſſatisfaction with the verdict, which cauſed ſome of the jury to deſire to go out again; and then they brought her in guilty. This was a hard caſe, and can ſcarcely be ſaid to be *the execution of law and juſtice in mercy.* † In a capital caſe, the court often refuſes a verdict of, *guilty*, but, rarely, if ever, ſends a jury out again, upon one of, *not guilty*. It does not indeed appear, that in this caſe the jury was ordered out again; but the diſſatisfaction expreſſed by the court ſeems to have been in ſuch a manner as to have the ſame effect. The certificate given by the foreman of the jury, to ſatisfy the relations of the woman, ſhews how the fact was.

"July 4th, 1692.

"I Thomas Fiſk the ſubſcriber hereof, being one of them that were of the jury laſt week at Salem court, upon the trial of Rebekah Nurſe, &c. being deſired

† A part of the oath the King takes at his coronation, "which Judges ſhould have written on their hearts." *Foſter's crown law.*

deſired, by ſome of the relations, to give a reaſon why the jury brought her in guilty, after the verdict not guilty; I do hereby give my reaſons to be as follows. 1692.

"When the verdict *not guilty* was given, the honored court was pleaſed to object againſt it, ſaying to them, that they think they let ſlip the words which the priſoner at the bar ſpake againſt herſelf, which were ſpoken in reply to Goodwife Hobbs and her daughter, who had been faulty in ſetting their hands to the devil's book, as they had confeſſed formerly; the words were '*What! do theſe perſons give in evidence againſt me now? they uſed to come among us.*' After the honored court had manifeſted their diſſatisfaction of the verdict, ſeveral of the jury declared themſelves deſirous to go out again, and thereupon the honored court gave leave; but when we came to conſider the caſe, I could not tell how to take her words as an evidence againſt her, till ſhe had a further opportunity to put her ſenſe upon them, if ſhe would take it; and then going into court, I mentioned the words aforeſaid, which by one of the court were affirmed to have been ſpoken by her, ſhe being then at the bar but made no reply nor interpretation of them; whereupon, theſe words were to me a principal evidence againſt her. Thomas Fiſk."

Nurse, being informed of the uſe which had been made of her words, gave in a declaration to the court, that "when ſhe ſaid Hobbs and her daughter were of her company, ſhe meant no more than that they were priſoners as well as herſelf; and that, being hard of hearing, ſhe did not know what the foreman of the jury ſaid;" but her declaration had no effect.

Mr. Noyes, the miniſter of Salem, a zealous proſecutor, excommunicated the poor old woman and delivered her to Satan, to whom he ſuppoſed ſhe had formally given herſelf up many years before; but her life and converſation had been ſuch, that the remembrance thereof, in a ſhort time after, wiped off all the reproach occaſioned by the civil or eccleſiaſtical ſentence againſt her.

1692. IT is ſaid, that at the trial of Sarah Good, one of the afflicted perſons fell into a fit, and, after recovery, cried out, "that the priſoner had ſtabbed her and broke her knife in doing it;" and a piece of the knife was found upon the afflicted perſon; but a young man declared, that, the day before, he broke that very knife and threw away the piece, this afflicted perſon being then preſent. The court took ſo much notice as to bid her tell no more lies, but went on to improve her as a witneſs againſt other priſoners.* Something happened, not unlike to this, in a trial before Sir Matthew Hale. The afflicted children, in their fits, would ſhriek out upon the leaſt touch from Roſe Cullender, one of the witches, but remained quite inſenſible when any body elſe touched them. Leſt there ſhould be any fraud, Lord Cornwallis, Sir Edmund Bacon, Serjeant Keeling and other gentlemen attended one of the girls, whilſt ſhe was in her fits, at another part of the hall, and one of the witches was brought, and an apron was put before the girl's eyes; but inſtead of the witches hand, another perſon's hand was taken to touch the girl, who thereupon ſhrieked out as ſhe uſed to do. The gentlemen returned and declared to the court they believed the whole was an impoſture. Notwithſtanding this, the witch was found guilty, and the judge and all the court were fully ſatisfied with the verdict, and awarded ſentence accordingly.

SUSANNAH MARTIN had been ſuſpected ever ſince 1669, ſo that many witch ſtories were reported of her and given in evidence againſt her. One of theſe women, being told at her execution by the miniſter Mr. Noyes, that he knew ſhe was a witch, and therefore adviſed her to confeſs, ſhe replied, that *he lied, and that ſhe was no*

* This ſtory is related by Calef, who, by his narrative, gave great offence, having cenſured the proceedings, at a time when in general the country did not ſee the error they had been in; but in his account of facts which can be evidenced by records, and other original writings, he appears to have been a fair relater.

no more a witch than he was a wizard; and if he took away her life God would give him blood to drink. † 1692.

AT the trial of another of them, it is ſaid, that, one of the afflicted cried out in court upon Mr. Willard, a miniſter of Boſton, and that ſhe was immediately ſent out of court; and it was given out that ſhe was miſtaken in the perſon. ‡ There was one Willard then in priſon for witchcraft.

AT the next adjournment, Aug. 5th, George Burroughs, John Procter and Elizabeth his wife, John Willard, George Jacobs and Martha Carrier were all brought upon trial and condemned, and all executed upon the 19th of Auguſt, except Elizabeth Procter, who eſcaped by pleading her belly.

BURROUGHS had been a preacher, § ſeveral years before this, at Salem village, where there had been ſome miſunderſtanding between him and the people. Afterwards he became a preacher at Wells in the province of Main. We will be a little more particular in our account of his trial. ‖ The indictment was as follows.

† Calef.—They have a tradition among the people of Salem that a peculiar circumſtance attended the death of this gentleman, he having been choaked with blood, which makes them ſuppoſe her, if not a witch, a Pythoniſſa, at leaſt, in this inſtance.

‡ Calef.

§ The confeſſing witches were examined concerning him.—"Richard Carrier affirmed to the jury that he ſaw Mr. George Burroughs at the witch meeting at the village and ſaw him adminiſter the ſacrament. Mary Lacey, ſen^r. and her daughter Mary affirmed that Mr. George Burroughs was at the witch meetings and witch ſacraments, and that ſhe knows Mr. Burroughs to be of the company of witches. Aug. 3. 1692."

‖ Among the ſufferers diſcovered in England by Matthew Hopkins in 1645, there was one Mr. Lewis, whom Mr. Baxter calls an old reading parſon, and ſays that he confeſſed he had two imps, and that he ſent one to ſink a ſhip which he ſaw on the coaſt, and that afterwards he ſaw the ſhip ſink. Doctor Hutchinſon, in his obſervations upon the Suffolk witches, ſays, Mr. Lewis was an ancient clergyman, near fourſcore, who read Q. Elizabeth's homilies

1692. "Anno Regis et Reginæ, &c. quarto.

Eſſex ſſ. THE Jurors for our ſovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queen, preſent, that George Burroughs, late of Falmouth in the Province of Maſſachuſets bay, clerk, the ninth day of May, in the fourth year of the reign of our ſovereign Lord and Lady William and Mary, by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King and Queen, defenders of the faith, &c. and divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable arts called witchcrafts and ſorceries, wickedly and felonioufly hath uſed, practiſed and exerciſed, at and within the town of Salem, in the county of Eſſex aforeſaid, in, upon and againſt one Mary Walcot of Salem village, in the county of Eſſex, ſingle woman; by which ſaid wicked arts, the ſaid Mary Walcot, the ninth day of May, in the fourth year above ſaid, and divers other days and times as well before as after, was and is tortured, afflicted, pined, conſumed, waſted and tormented, againſt the peace of our ſovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queen, and againſt the form of the ſtatute in that caſe made and provided. Endorſed Billa vera." Three other bills were found againſt him for witchcrafts upon other perſons, to all which he pleaded not guilty, and put himſelf upon trial, &c.

THE afflicted perſons, and the confeſſing witches were firſt examined; for although, by the advice of the elders, their evidence was not concluſive, yet ſome preſumption aroſe from it, and with other circumſtances to corroborate it, the proof might be ſufficient to convict. One circumſtance was, that, being a little man, he had performed feats beyond the ſtrength of a giant, viz. had held

homilies inſtead of ſermons, but being what was then called a malignant parſon, he was more eaſily convicted; that upon his trial he aſſerted his innocency, and at his execution read the ſervice for burial himſelf; that the confeſſion Mr. Baxter mentions was from the evidence of perſons at his trial, and as Hopkins had ſwam him ſeveral times till he was near drowning, ſuch confeſſion, or any other, was not matter of great wonder.

held out a gun of ſeven feet barrel with one hand, and had carried a barrel full of cyder from a canoe to the ſhore. Upon his urging, that an Indian, who was preſent, held out the gun alſo, and the witneſſes not remembring that any Indian was there, it was ſaid the Indian muſt have been the black man or the devil, who the witneſſes ſwore looks like an Indian. Other evidence was given of his harſh treatment of his wives, having been twice married, and of his pretending to them that he knew what had been ſaid to them in his abſence, and his perſuading them to give it under their hands in writing, and to ſwear to it, that they would not reveal his ſecrets; and it was further ſaid they had privately complained to the neighbours that their houſe was haunted with ſpirits: And a brother of one of his wives ſwore, that going out after ſtrawberries, upon their return, he went into the buſhes on foot, and though they rode a quick pace, yet when they came near home, to their aſtoniſhment, they found him with them, and that he fell to chiding his wife for talking to her brother about him, and ſaid he knew their thoughts, which, the brother ſaid was more than the devil knew; to which Burroughs replied, that his god told him. Againſt this evidence he urged, that a man was with him, to ſhew that another walked as faſt as he did; and this was immediately determined to be the black man alſo. And, upon the whole, he was confounded and uſed many twiſtings and turnings, which I think we cannot wonder at. At his execution, he concluded his dying prayer with the Lord's prayer; probably to convince ſome of the ſpectators of his innocence, for it was the received opinion, that a true witch could not ſay the Lord's prayer without blundering,* and in many of the examinations it was uſed as a teſt, and ſeveral of the old women not ſaying it right, this was improved againſt them. 1692.

SEPTEMBER

* "She was bid to ſay the Lord's prayer. When ſhe came to forgive us our treſpaſſes as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us, ſhe ſaid, ſo do I. No other miſtake, in ſaying the prayer, remarkable." *A woman's examination, Sept.* 21. 1692.

1692. SEPTEMBER the 9th, *Martha Cory*, *Mary Eſty*, *Alice Parker*, *Ann Pudeater*, Dorcas Hoar, and Mary Bradbury were tried, and September 17th, *Margaret Scott*, *Wilmot Read*, *Samuel Wardwell*, *Mary Parker*, Abigail Falkner, Rebekah Eames, Mary Lacey, Ann Foſter and Abigail Hobbs, and all received ſentence of death. Thoſe in italick were executed the 22d following.

MARY ESTY, who was ſiſter to Nurſe, gave in to the court a petition; in which ſhe ſays, ſhe does not aſk her own life, although ſhe is conſcious of her innocence, but prays them, before they condemn any more, to examine the confeſſing witches more ſtrictly; for ſhe is ſure they have belied themſelves and others, which will appear in the world to which ſhe is going, if it ſhould not in this world.

THOSE who were condemned and not executed, I ſuppoſe, all confeſſed their guilt. I have ſeen the confeſſions of ſeveral of them. Wardwell alſo confeſſed, but he recanted and ſuffered. His own wife, as well as his daughter,* accuſed him and ſaved themſelves. There are many inſtances, among the examinations, of children accuſing their parents, and ſome of parents accuſing their children. This is the only inſtance of a wife or huſband, accuſing one the other, and ſurely this inſtance ought not to have been ſuffered. I ſhudder while I am relating it. Beſides this irregularity, there were others in the courſe of theſe trials. The facts laid in the indictments were, witchcrafts upon particular perſons, there was no evidence of theſe facts, but what was called ſpectral evidence, which, in the opinion of the miniſters, was inſufficient; ſome of the other evidence was of facts ten or twenty years before, which had no relation to thoſe with which they were charged; and ſome of them no relation to the crime of witchcraft. Evidence is not admitted, even againſt the general character of perſons upon

* The daughter upon a ſecond enquiry denied that ſhe knew her father and mother to be witches; the wife was not aſked a ſecond time.

upon trial, unleſs to encounter other evidence brought in favour of it; much leſs ought their whole lives to be arraigned, without giving time ſufficient for defence.† 1692.

GILES CORY was the only perſon, beſides thoſe already named, who ſuffered. He, ſeeing the fate of all who had put themſelves upon trial, refuſed to plead; but the judges, who had not been careful enough in obſerving the law in favour of the priſoners, determined to do it againſt this unhappy man, and he had judgment of *peine fort et dure* for ſtanding mute, and was preſſed to death; the only inſtance which ever was, either before this time or ſince, in New-England. In all ages of the world ſuperſtitious credulity has produced greater cruelty than is practiſed among the Hottentots, or other nations, whoſe belief of a deity is called in queſtion.

THIS court of oyer and terminer, happy for the country, ſat no more. Nineteen perſons had been executed, all aſſerting their innocence; but this was not enough to open the eyes of the people in general. The goal at Salem was filled with priſoners, and many had been removed to other goals; ſome were admitted to bail, all reſerved for trial, a law having paſſed conſtituting a ſupreme ſtanding court, with juriſdiction in capital, as well as all other criminal caſes. The general court alſo ſhewed their zeal againſt witchcraft, by a law paſſed in the words of the ſtatute of James the firſt, but this law was diſallowed by the King. If the court was of opinion that the ſtatute extended here, I ſee no neceſſity of a provincial act exactly in the ſame words; if the ſtatute did not extend here, I know not by what law the firſt that was tried could be ſentenced to death.

THE

† Againſt many of the women there was likewiſe given in evidence the return of a jury of one man, a doctor, and eight women appointed to examine their bodies for tetts and other devil's marks. The ſearch was curious enough, but the return is too indelicate to appear in this relation. Some ſaid the credulity was ſuch that a flea bite would paſs well enough for a tett or the devil's mark.

1692. THE time, by law, for holding the court at Salem, was not until January. This gave opportunity for conſideration; and this alone might have been ſufficient for a change of opinions and meaſures, but another reaſon has been given for it. Ordinarily, perſons of the loweſt rank in life have had the misfortune to be charged with witchcrafts; and although many ſuch had ſuffered, yet there remained in priſon a number of women, of as reputable families as any in the towns where they lived, and ſeveral perſons, of ſtill ſuperior rank, were hinted at by the pretended bewitched, or by the confeſſing witches. Some had been publickly named. Dudley Bradſtreet, a juſtice of peace, who had been appointed one of preſident Dudley's council, and who was ſon to the worthy old governor, then living, found it neceſſary to abſcond. Having been remiſs in proſecuting, he had been charged by ſome of the afflicted as a confederate. His brother, John Bradſtreet, was forced to fly alſo. Calef ſays it was intimated that Sir William Phips's lady was among the accuſed. It is certain, that one who pretended to be bewitched at Boſton, where the infection was beginning to ſpread, charged the ſecretary of the colony of Connecticut.* Mrs. Hale, wife to the miniſter of Beverly, was accuſed alſo; which cauſed her huſband to alter his judgment and to be leſs active in proſecutions than he had been.

AT the court in January, the grand jury found bills againſt about 50 for witchcraft, one or two men, the reſt women; but, upon trial, they were all acquitted, except three of the worſt characters, and thoſe the governor

* "As to what you mention, concerning that poor creature in your town that is afflicted, and mentioned my name to yourſelf and ſon, I return you hearty thanks for your intimation about it, and for your charity therein mentioned; and I have great cauſe to bleſs God, who, of his mercy hitherto, hath not left me to fall into ſuch an horrid evil." *Extract of a letter from Secr'y Allen to Inc. Mather, Hartford, 18 March, 92-3.*

governor reprieved for the King's mercy. All that were not brought upon trial he ordered to be diſcharged.† Such a goal delivery was made this court, as has never been known at any other time in New-England. 1692.

SEVERAL perſons had been charged and impriſoned in the county of Middleſex alſo, and at the firſt court at Charleſtown they were brought to trial, but the jury acquitted them all. Some of the court were diſſatisfied. The juries changed ſooner than the judges. However, it was not long before one, at leaſt, of the judges of the firſt court of oyer and terminer was ſenſible of his error. Mr. Sewall, at a public faſt, gave in to the miniſter a bill, acknowledging his error in the late proceedings, and deſiring to humble himſelf in the ſight of God and his people. It is ſaid, that, the chief juſtice, Mr. Stoughton, being informed of this action of one of his brethren, obſerved for himſelf that, when he ſat in judgment, he had the fear of God before his eyes and gave his opinion according to the beſt of his underſtanding; and although it might appear afterwards, that he had been in an error, yet he ſaw no neceſſity of a public acknowledgment of it.

ONE of the miniſters, who, in the time of it, was fully convinced that the complaining perſons were no impoſtures, and who vindicated his own conduct and that

† It is ſaid, the governor's lady, when Sir William was abſent, ſaved one poor woman from trial. "In Sir William's abſence, his lady, I ſuppoſe upon account of her name's being Mary, (William and Mary) was ſollicited for a favour in behalf of a woman committed by one of the judges, on accuſation of witchcraft, by a formal warrant under his hand and ſeal, and in cloſe priſon for trial the next aſſizes, then not far off. The good lady, *propriâ virtute*, granted and ſigned a warrant for the ſaid woman's diſcharge, which was obeyed by the keeper, and the woman lives ſtill for aught I know. Truly, I did not believe this ſtory till I ſaw a copy of the mittimus and diſcharge, under the keeper's hand, atteſted a true copy, for which diſcovery the keeper was diſcharged from his truſt and put out of his employment, as he himſelf told me. *M.S. letter.*

1692. that of the court, in a narrative he publiſhed, remarks, not long after, in his diary, that many were of opinion that innocent blood had been ſhed. None of the pretended afflicted were ever brought upon trial for their fraud, ſome of them proved profligate perſons, abandoned to all vice, others paſſed their days in obſcurity or contempt.

THE opinion which prevailed in New-England, for many years after this tragedy, that there was ſomething præternatural in it, and that it was not all the effect of fraud and impoſture, proceeded from the reluctance in human nature to reject errors once imbibed. As the principal actors went off the ſtage, this opinion has gradually leſſened, and perhaps it is owing to a reſpect to the memory of their immediate anceſtors, that many do not yet ſeem to be fully convinced. There are a great number of perſons who are willing to ſuppoſe the accuſers to have been under bodily diſorders which affected their imaginations. This is kind and charitable, but ſeems to be winking the truth out of ſight. A little attention muſt force conviction that the whole was a ſcene of fraud and impoſture, began by young girls, who at firſt perhaps thought of nothing more than being pitied and indulged, and continued by adult perſons, who were afraid of being accuſed themſelves. The one and the other, rather than confeſs their fraud, ſuffered the lives of ſo many innocents to be taken away, through the credulity of judges and juries.*

IT

* The general court, about 20 years after, upon the petitions of the relations of thoſe who had been executed, and of ſeveral perſons who had been charged and fled, and whoſe goods had been ſeized, made grants for and in conſideration of the loſſes ſuſtained; but the petitioners alledged, that they bore no proportion to the real damage. Philip Engliſh, a merchant in Salem, received £. 300.—He computed his damages at £. 1500.—Enquiry was made by a committee, and they profeſſed to report ſuch ſums as each petitioner had ſuffered.

It was propoſed that the members of the general court ſhould, during the receſs, conſider of ſuch laws as were neceſſary to be eſtabliſhed; for the act reviving the colony laws was to continue in force no longer than until November 1692. 1692.

This was a work of great importance, and required the wiſeſt heads, and ought to have been committed to ſelect perſons upon a preconcerted plan, the whole of which each perſon ſhould have kept in view; for want thereof the people of the province have been ſufferers ever ſince; the conſtruction of many laws has been doubtful and varying, it being impoſſible to reconcile the ſeveral parts to any general principle of law whatſoever. Beſides, being paſſed one after another, as they happened to be brought in, and ſent to England for allowance, ſome were diſapproved; others, which depended upon or had ſome connection with thoſe which were diſapproved, were allowed; whereas, if one complete code or ſyſtem had been prepared and ſent to England, ſuch alterations would have been propoſed, as might finally have iſſued in a well digeſted conſiſtent body of laws; and a temporary proviſion might have been made, until this perpetual rule ſhould be ſettled. Seven years had paſſed, and four different acts had been ſent, one after another, to England, for eſtabliſhing courts of juſtice, before the royal approbation could be obtained. It was the practice of the adminiſtration then, and, it ſeems, at that time to have been well enough received in the province,† to point out, either in the order diſallowing laws, or to the agent who preſented them, the particular exceptions, and to propoſe ſuch alterations as might render them

† "I am alſo obliged to acknowledge your Lordſhips favour in making known the reaſons of the repeal of divers acts and laws made within this province, which is of good information and direction unto the general aſſembly in their new making of others to thoſe purpoſes." *Extr. from Lt. Gov. Stoughton's letter to lords of trade, Sept.* 30. 1697.